

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 CIEP-01 STR-04

TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 OPIC-03 /090 W

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R 061820Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5846

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION USNATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USEC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L DUBLIN 995

E. O. 11552: XGDS-1

TAGS: ECIN EEC PFOR EI PO

SUBJ: FITZGERALD'S VISIT TO LISBON

REF: LISBON 3150

SUMMARY: THE IRISH THINK PORTUGAL IS ON BALANCE BETWEEN DEMO-  
CRATIC SOCIALISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM. THE IRISH ARE NOT VENTURING  
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TO PREDICT WHICH WAY IT WILL GO, BUT THEY WILL CERTAINLY URGE THE

EC WEIGH IN QUICKLY ON THE DEMOCRATIC SIDE OF THE BALANCE, USING ECONOMIC AND AN EC/PORTUGAL MINISTERIAL. END SUMMARY

1. IRISH POLITICAL DIRECTOR NOEL DORR BRIEFED US EVENING OF JUNE 6 ON FOREIGN MINISTER FITZGERALD'S VISIT TO PORTUGAL (REFTEL). DORR HAD ACCOMPANIED THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON THE TRIP, AND VIRTUALLY ALL OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS IN LISBON CONCERNED EC/PORTUGUESE RELATIONS RATHER THAN DUBLIN/LISBON BUSINESS. DORR BRIEFED EC AMBASSADORS THE MORNING BEFORE HE SAW US.

2. FITZGERALD AND DORR MET VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE PORTUGUESE LEADERS, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT; THE PRIME MINISTER; AND THE MINISTERS WITH AND WITHOUT PORTFOLIO, INCLUDING ANTUNES, SOARES, AND CUNHAL. ANTUNES, HOWEVER, WAS THE PRINCIPAL CONTACT, SPENDING A GREAT DEAL OF TIME WITH FITZGERALD AND DORR. ANTUNES ALSO USED THE OCCASION OF A DINNER FOR FITZGERALD TO MAKE A SIGNIFICANT AND WELL-PUBLICIZED SPEECH ON PORTUGUESE INTEREST IN THE EC. DORR STRESSED -- AS HE DID AT OTHER POINTS IN OUR BRIEFING -- THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO TO DRAW ANY

COMPLICATED CONCLUSIONS ON THE BASIS OF A TWO-DAY VISIT. THE IRISH REALIZED THAT ANTUNES AND OTHER CONTACTS WERE CERTAINLY TRYING TO SHOW THEIR BEST SIDE TO THE IRISH AND THAT THE VISIT OFFERED NO OPPORTUNITY FOR A REALLY DETAILED LOOK AT PORTUGAL. WITH THIS QUALIFICATION, HOWEVER, DORR SAID THAT THE IRISH HAD BEEN WELL IMPRESSED BY ANTUNES. THEY ARE INCLINED TO SEE HIM AS A BENEFICIAL FORCE, NOT AS AN EXTREMIST WITH MACHIAVELLIAN DESIGNS. ON THE BASIS OF SOME LONG PERSONAL TALKS, DORR SAID THAT ANTUNES APPEARED TO BE PERSONALLY COMMITTED TO STRONG TIES WITH THE EC. DORR THOUGHT THIS MADE IT VERY UNLIKELY THAT ANTUNES FAVORED THE COMMUNISTS AT ANY LEVEL OF HIS PERSONALITY.

3. DORR DESCRIBED ANTUNES AS A MAN WHO HAD CERTAINLY BEEN INFLUENCED BY HIS ARMY CAREER BUT WHO HAD ALSO DEVELOPED BROAD INTERESTS IN OTHER FIELDS. HE SPOKE ENGLISH POORLY BUT WAS FLUENT IN FRENCH, AND FOR DORR'S BENEFIT, ANTUNES MENTIONED HIS ATTEMPTS TO READ JOYCE IN THREE LANGUAGES. ANTUNES SEEMED GENUINELY COMMITTED TO THE IDEA THAT PORTUGAL COULD BECOME A SORT OF BRIDGE BETWEEN THE EC AND THE THIRD WORLD. DORR NOTED HUMOROUSLY THAT MANY IRISH POLITICIANS OVER THE YEARS HAD MADE SIMILAR SPEECHES, SO DORR WAS NOT BOWLED OFF HIS FEET BY THE IDEA, BUT HE DID THINK THAT ANTUNES

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WAS SINCERE ABOUT IT.

4. THE IRISH SPENT LESS TIME WITH THE OTHER PORTUGUESE. ON THE DAY THEY MET SOARES, HE WAS MUCH MORE PESSIMISTIC THAN ANTUNES -- OF WHOM, HOWEVER, HE SPOKE VERY HIGHLY. THE IRISH GATHERED THAT SOARES IS MERCURIAL AND MIGHT HAVE BEEN LESS GLOOMY ON THE PREVIOUS DAY OR THE DAY AFTER. LIKE ANTUNES, SOARES SEEMED TO HAVE A REAL BELIEF THAT PORTUGAL MIGHT FIND A "THIRD WAY" TO A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM. THE

PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT THEY HAD NO REAL MODEL TO FOLLOW: SCANDANAVIA DID NOT OFFER A VERY USEFUL PARALLEL.

5. CUNHAL, IN HIS MEETING WITH THE IRISH, WAS VERY SMOOTH AND CORRECT, SAYING ALL THE RIGHT THINGS IN A SOOTHING WAY. THE IRISH THOUGHT IT WOULD BE CLEARLY ABSURD FOR THEM TO ATTEMPT TO REACH ANY JUDGMENT ON HIM AT ALL; HE SIMPLY PERFORMED AS EXPECTED.

6. THE IRISH FOUND IT EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT TO FORESEE HOW THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION WAS TURNING OUT. EVEN THE BEST INFORMED PORTUGUESE SEEMED TO HAVE NO CLEAR IDEA. THE PORTUGUESE MINISTERS THEMSELVES DID NOT SEEM SURE WHERE THE POWER CENTERS WERE. DORR APOLOGIZED FOR THE CLICHE BUT SAID THE POLITICAL SITUATION REALLY WAS FLUID.

7. ON THE OTHER HAND, ALL OF THE PEOPLE THE IRISH CONTACTED REFLECTED THE SAME CONCERN ABOUT THE BAD ECONOMIC SITUATION, WHICH THEY THOUGHT MIGHT BECOME CRITICAL IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS -- PERHAPS BEFORE THE END OF THE HOLIDAY SEASON. ALL CONTACTS WANTED EC AID AND SYMPATHY. A FEW CONTACTS, INCLUDING ANTUNES, THOUGHT THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION HAD IMPROVED SLIGHTLY IN THE FEW DAYS BEFORE THE VISIT, BUT THE IRISH HAD NO CONFIDENCE IN ANYONE'S LONG-TERM PROJECTIONS. DORR SAID THAT HE THOUGHT HE DETECTED A SORT OF DIALECTIC PROCESS BETWEEN THE ARMED FORCES AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE WORD "DIALECTIC" WAS HIS OWN AND WAS NOT GIVEN TO HIM BY ANYONE IN PORTUGAL. IF ALL WORKED OUT WELL, THERE MIGHT BE SOME HOPE THAT PORTUGAL COULD BRING MANY MEANS OF PRODUCTION UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL, WHILE MAINTAINING A STRONG PRIVATE SECTOR AS WELL. ANTUNES TALKED OF "PLURALISTIC SOCIALISM," AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC LEADERS SEEMED TO SHARE THIS GOAL. THE IRISH THOUGHT THAT AN ECONOMY OF THIS KIND MIGHT CONCEIVABLY EMERGE FROM THE CURRENT

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CONFUSION, BUT THEY ARE CERTAINLY MAKING NO PREDICTIONS.

8. AS DORR SUMMED UP THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION, THE COUNTRY IS TEETERING BETWEEN SOME SORT OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND AUTHORITARIAN-

ISM, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FORESEE WHICH WAY THE BALANCE WILL TIP WITH ANY ASSURANCE. UNTIL THE SITUATION CLARIFIES, THE IRISH THINK IT WOULD BE A GREAT MISTAKE TO WRITE PORTUGAL OFF. FITZGERALD WILL CERTAINLY URGE PROMPT HELP FOR THE PORTUGUESE IN EC COUNCILS, THOUGH HE RECOGNIZES THAT THE HELP MAY NOT WORK. THE IRISH SEE NO OBJECTION TO GIVING PORTUGAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR POLITICAL IMPACT. PUTTING IT THE OTHER WAY AROUND, DORR ALSO SAID THE IRISH BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO AVOID GIVING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR POLITICAL REASONS. DORR WAS INCLINED TO HOPE THAT SOME VERY VISIBLE AID COULD BE FURNISHED AS EARLY AS

JUNE OR JULY. HE THOUGHT CHANCES WERE ALSO HIGH OF AN EC/PORTUGUESE MINISTERIAL MEETING IN THE FUTURE. FITZGERALD HAD NO MANDATE TO AGREE TO SUCH A MEETING, BUT HE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO SOUND OUT PORTUGUESE INTENTIONS, AND FITZGERALD HIMSELF IS CLEARLY GOING TO BE WORKING FOR A MINISTERIAL MEETING.

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## Message Attributes

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